REPORT

OF THE

International Workmen's Congress

HELD IN THE

Hall of the Union of Commerce and Industry,

10, RUE DE LANCRY, PARIS,

ON

JULY 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, & 20, 1889.

PUBLISHED BY

THE TRADE UNIONIST MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH DELEGATION.

Co-operative Printing Society Limited, 6, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, and 35, Russell Street, Covent Garden, London.—9047

Names of Delegates attending the International Workmen's Congress, held in Paris, July 15—20, 1889; Names of the Societies represented, and Number of Members.

Belgium.

Name of Delegate.	Society Represented.	No. of Members.
Gustave Defnet	General Council of the Belgian Workmen's Party	
C. de Paepe	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	
Théopile Blanvalet	Federation of Socialist Workers of Liège and Verviers; Steam Mills and Bakeries; Trade Union of Miners of Saint Gilles; Engineers' Society, Liège; Equitable Workers, Liège Co-operative Society; Federal Council of the Valley of La Vesdre	
Edward Meunier	Trade Union of Miners of La Hestre, Hainault	
Florent Guisset	Workers' League of Lize-Seraing, Liège	
Laurent Verrycken	Brussels Federation of the Workmen's Party	
Emile Vandevelde	League of the Workers of Ixelles	
Louis Walnier	Brussels Club for Socialist Propaganda	
Auguste Wortelmann Constans Goetschalk	The Proletarians of Antwerp	204,000

British Isles.

H. Ham George Dew	Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, London District	1,600 3,000
A. G. Cook J. Flanedy	Compositors, London Society of	7,500
W. H. Eveleigh John Burns	Engineers, Amalgamated Society of, Executive Council	57,000
Thomas Willmore	Amalgamated Engineers, Birmingham (1st) branch	200
Robert Hunter Alfred Greenwood	Glass Bottle Makers, International Society of, Central branch	2,000
J. O'Gorman	Irish Bottle Makers, Ireland	100
Annie Besant	Match Makers, Union of Women	782
T. Burt, M.P. C. Fenwick, M.P.	Miners' Association, Northumberland	12,500
T. Muse	Trades' Council, Carlisle	630
J. Holmes	Amalgamated Hosiery Union, Leicester	2,250
W. Parnell B. Cooper	Trades' Council, London	25,949
E. Simcox	,, ,, ,, (Women's)	600
R. Juggins	Trades' Federation, Midland Counties	4,000
A. Smith	Women's Trade Union League	92
— Chapman	Knights of Labour, Birmingham	200
A. K. Donald	Labour Union, Hoxton Division	
J. D. Nieass	Metropolitan Radical Federation, 45 Clubs	20,000
William Clark	Fabian Society	130
A. Coulon	Dublin Socialist Club	35
H. M. Hyndman	Social Democratic Federation, General Council (28 branches)	
B. Rogers	,, ,, ,, Battersea Branch	193
Samuel Oliver	,, ,, ,, Bermondsey ,,	30
J. Tanner	,, ,, ,, Birmingham ,,	213
William West	,, ,, ,, Blackburn ,,	
Walter Geard	,, ,, ,, Chelsea ,,	170
Herbert Burrows	,, ,, ,, Clerkenwell ,,	176
	Cigarette Makers and Tobacco Cutters Union	249
J. D. Christie	Social Democratic Federation, Edinburgh Branch	200
John Warrilow	,, ,, ,, Glasgow Branch	70
H W. Hobart	,, ,, ,, Islington Branch	150

G. H. Young	Social Democratic Federation, Kennington Branch	39
Thomas Walker	,, ,, ,, St. Pancras Branch	135
Sebastian Knijpers	,, ,, ,, Somers Town Branch	27
William Snow	,, ,, ,, Tottenham Branch	307

*** A delegate from a Salford Society of Cotton Spinners, who arrived late, was allowed to attend the sittings of the Congress, without voting, his credentials having miscarried. Mr. Burt was unable to attend, being detained in London by the Committee on Royal Grants.

Denmark..

Charles Schauby	Trade Union of Copenhagen Ironmoulders	
J. Jensen	Council of the Co-operative Trade Unions of Copenhagen	20,200

France.

PARIS.

Dadier, Viochot, Curt	Trade Union of Working Diamond Cutters	120
Ch. Leclerc, Philippe, Boschatt..	Trade Union of Working Sewermen	
Laurent, Blot, Mottifat	Trade Union of Billiard Table Makers	86
Favreau	Trade Union of the Working Hatters of Paris	
Laveissierre	General Society of the Working Hatters of France	
Heldevert, Ledru, Cotteret	Trade Union of Operative Iron Moulders	
J. B. Dumay, J. Joffrin	Union of Operative Engineers	1,500
Lenoir, Leynaud, Boulanger	Trade Union of Working Bakers	304
A. Chomaz	Trade Union of Ground Glass Stopper Makers	
Finace, Gerard, Wernet	Trade Union of Working House Painters	
Melotte, Muzillard, Guyon	French Lithographic Federation	600
Decroix, Flogny	French Federation of Workers in the Book Trade	5,500
Brenon, Emmeli, Perriod	Trade Union of Paper Rulers	300
Picardet, Michelat, Roret	Trade Union of Golosh Makers	
Corneloup, Paris, Blondeau	Trade Union of Working Cartwrights	
Ch. Bourgeois, Cocqueray, Tourelli	Trade Union of Rustic Lattice Makers	
Baune, Dellorme	Carvers' Society of Mutual Support	
E. Picau, Bessonard, Berthaut..	Trade Union of Piano and Organ Makers	
Devlaamick, Gallas, Robillard..	Trade Group of Copper Founders	
Delacour, Gontier, Renier	Society of the Solidarity of Gilders, Bookbinding	
Ad. Lenormand, Rebatel	Solidarity of Working Hair Dressers, for Fraternity and Study	
F. Brunet, Le Vasseur, Mercier	Trade Union of Working Joiners	
Blard, Durand, Renaud	Trade Union of Optical Turners	
Marlier, Zell, Piens	Trade Union of Working Turners and Chasers	103
Bourel, Lagouelte, Letort	Trade Union of Working Brushmakers	
A. Grisel, A. Schmidt	Union of Working Glass Blowers	
Chaffaud, Marais, Ch. Colomb	Trade Union of Working Bleachers	50
Blanchard, M. Mame, Duponchelle	Trade Union of Packing Case Makers	
Boutaire, Daubanay, Fernantes	Union of Shoemakers, Louis XV. heels	
Barnier, E. Molas, Priou	Trade Union of Inlaid Flooring Workers	300
F. Nanquette, Hanel, Berenger	Trade Union of Saddlers, and Hunting Accoutrement Makers	
Dubois, Bérenger, Ollat	Defensive League of Operative Coach Builders	204
Charlot, Grandjean, Patte	Trade Union of Colour Draughtsmen	
Audejean, Lafarge, Lefort	Socialist Federation of Working Carpenters	
Herbinet, Berchy, Asanas	Trade Union of Working Pattern Drawers	250
Lucas, Mary, E. Baron	Trade Union of Operative Curriers	69
Avard, Moine, Gauthier	Trade Union of Street Sweepers	200
Meleng, Pezron, Farcey	Trade Union of Shirt and Collar Cutters and Allied Branches	59
Khaiser, Quarantelive	Trade Union of Saw Punchers and Moulders	115
P. Pain, E. Lange, B. Lefèvre..	Union of the French Federation of Commercial Travellers	1,000
P. Loyer, L. Negro, L. Tabert..	Trade Union of Bronze Workers	700
Velter, Pradal, Harlay	Trade Union of Working Copper Founders	
P. Bertrand, E. Archenauld, H. Guérin	Trade Union of Gardeners	
Bardin, Constanson, Labro	Trade Union of Carriage Painters	400
Perrin, Fayard, Bertheau	Trade Union of Working Cutlers	
Carel, Carrière, Boisse	Trade Union of Cab Drivers	
E. Balliet, Lemaire, Catherine..	Trade Union of Brass Finishers and Turners in Metal	250
Rombrot, Monseu, Boucher	Union of Musical Instrument Makers, Wood and Copper	150
Suzan, Flammant	Trade Union of Cabinet and Carved Furniture Work	900
,, ,,	Trade Union of Chair Makers	
Lapirot, Dumax, Carlier	Professional Trade Union of French Plaster Moulders	118
Eug. Adam, J. Joannaux, E. Lindor	Trade Union of Porters at the Halles and Markets	

Chamberasky, Hochard, M. Ruh	Trade Union of Hand Trimming Makers	200
Chardeaux, Bert, Didelot	Federation of Working Engravers	80
Mantenon, Ch. Patry, Henri Guilloux	Trade Union of Shoe Makers, Cutters (soles and uppers)	303
Bonhomme, Doré, Villa	Trade Union of Accountants	362
Michel, Gorin, Mousques	Trade Union of Carriage Makers	204
Devuassous, Delille, Gaillard	Trade Union of Imitation Jewellery, Jet, Steel, and Bronze Work Operatives	210
Aillaud, E. Gilliard, J. Convert	Trade Union of Numerical Printers and Pagers	22
V. Renou, Carmignac, Soyer	Workmen's Socialist Union of Stone Cutters, Sawyers, and Masons	
F. Bouché, L. Thuilot, E. Loret	Professional Trade Union of Type Founders	220
Balin, Dugué, Blanquet	Union of House Painters and Shop Fitters	
Bourderon, L. Graillat, Bonnerue,	Federal Union of Operative Coopers	
Leblanc, Rosé, Nicolas	Trade Union of Operative Plumbers, Slaters, and Zinc Workers	219
Foyard	Professional Trade Union of Operative Gold Lace Makers	
Dorignaux, Dupart, Fyot	Trade Union of Hammersmen	150
Laboumet, Dubosc, Caticpolt	Federation of the Operative Shoe Makers of the Seine	
Larcher, Pelluet	Trade Union of House Locksmiths	
Candelier, Barbar, Ballat	Trade Union of Goldsmiths and Jewellers	
Gilles, Degoulet	Trade Union of Morocco Portfolio Makers	
André Dubois, Charpentier, Billaud	Trade Union of Iron Boiler Makers	309
Haupais, Courtoux, Borsary	Trade Union of Clerks and Shop Assistants	2,225
V. Dufailly	Trade Union of Plasterers, Statuary, and Ornament Makers	105
Levrier, Domenghetti, Gattilher	Trade Union of Tinplate Workers	300
Fouet père, Flavien Robet, J. Martelet	Trade Society of Well Sinkers and Miners	
Gallet, Gobé, Frank	Trade Society of House Painters, "Cabbage Soup"	45
J. Barafort, F. Chopin, Bienfait	Workers' Trade Union of Parisian Cooks	1,000
Abriolle, Bourdet, Carré	Trade Union of Workers in the Flower Trade	
Ribaut, Fallier, Verdelet	Trade Union of Dyers and Scourers	50
Mdme. Avez, Mlles. Bonnevial, Francolin	Society of Teachers	
Alebert, Graux	Trade Union of Basket Workers	
Hamelin, Morin	Trade Union of Parisian Compositors	2,200
Hardouin, Fillol, Mousquier	Trade Union of Locksmiths	
Legardeur	Trade Union of Working Blacksmiths	
Tortelier, Montant	Trade Union of House Carpenters	
Durand, Martin, Spiès,	Trade Union of Carriage Joiners	
Toutefer, Duboncourt, Peckstadt	Trade Union of Engine Drivers	
Trémolet, Bervir, Lizé	Trade Union of Operative Harness Makers	
Jongi, Besquent, Villetaro	Trade Union of Navvies	1,877
Renier, Delattre, Petit Bon	Trade Society of Working Coopers	
A. Betou, A. Babillon, E. Darty	Trade Union of Electrotypers	
Madeline, Mariencourt, Guilmet	Trade Union of Tapestry Workers	717
Simon, Chaillet, Mathier	Society of Military Saddlers	
Ch. Alfred, Astulff, Roland*	Trade Society of Ladies' Handbag Makers	100
Michel	Professional Association of Carriage Operatives	
Petit Louis	Club of the 1st Arrondissement†	
Douillé, Andrie, Gaillardon	,, ,, 2nd ,,	
Muller, Renaud, Canivet	,, ,, 3rd ,,	
Lalant, Michaut, Coudray	,, ,, 4th ,,	
Martinet, Triollet, Gente	,, ,, 5th ,,	
Aveline, Galliment, Toussaint	,, ,, 6th ,,	
Lebas, Deniselle, Lellorrain	,, ,, 7th ,,	
Bourgoin, Stassart, Dandreux	,, ,, 9th ,,	
Legrand, Lavand, Brichard	,, ,, 10th ,, 1st section	
Schmidt, Boisdin, Coin	,, ,, 10th ,, 2nd ,,	
Vincent, Gelez, J. Weber	,, ,, 11th ,, 1st ,,	
Lamothe, Chausse, Pot de fer	,, ,, 11th ,, 2nd ,,	
Léon Mark, Cauman, Boudot	,, ,, 12th ,,	
Adam, Richard, Ochart	,, ,, 13th ,,	
Labour, Gourdon, Perin père	Plaisance Club	
Chancelet, Mascaux, Thomas	Federation of the Socialist Workmen of the 15th Arondissement	

* The Paris Trade Societies and Clubs appointed three members (having only one vote) to attend in rotation, as the delegates are not paid, and were seldom able to afford to lose a whole week's work.

† The following societies are described as "Clubs for Political, Social and Technical Studies."

Dramour, Peronnet, Fyerre	Kléber Society, 16th Arrondissement .....
Ch. André, S. Brunet, P. Brousse	Epinettes Club, 17th ,, ...
Chanon, Tripier, Gris	Ternes Club, ,, ,, ...
Lancecrux, Meugin, Marot	Batignolles Club, ,, ,, ...
Ragot, Gordé, Blondeau	La Chappelle Club, 18th ,, ...
Robert, Gervais, Brennier	Grandes Carrieres Club, 18th ,, ...
Doumeng, Pontoise, Bonnet	Northern Society, 18th ,, ...
Dubois, Perrin, Hertz	Clignancourt Club, 18th ,, ...
J. B. Nic, Auffret, Thorin	Butte-Montmartre Club, 18th ,, ...
Lebigre, Denéchaud, Prudent-Dervilliers	Battle Club, 19th Arrondissement .....
Mauray, Dechaume, Perrin	Pont de Flandre and Villette Club .....
Vauthier, Jacob, Poulain	Club of the 20th Arrondissement .....
Ouny, Huprel, Riquier	Halfpenny Electoral Club of the 20th Arrondissement ....
Juliot, Reties, Michaux fils	Saint Fargean Club .....
Taillade, Mouazé, Marchand....	Belleville Club .....
Ballet	Père la Chaise Club of the 20th Arrondissement .....
Kirche, Simon, A. Fontaine	Club of Working Engineers of the 18th Arrondissement ....
Dutertre, Girodier, Jardin.....	Freethought Club of the 18th Arrondissement .....
Augé, Dalle, André-Gély.....	Clerks and Shop Assistants' Club .....
Jeunhomme, Grégoire, Landoy..	Club of Ardennois Socialists .....
Astié de Valsayre.....	Woman's Suffrage.....
A. Keufer, St. Domingue, E. Bodin	Club of Positivist Proletarians .....
Chartrou, Dubois, Portrat.....	Natives of Saône and Loire.....
J. Allemane, P. Stautner	Compositors' Club .....
Vaquette, Draveny, Barez.....	Lithographic Printers' Society for Resistance .....
Champy, A. Philippe, Billotte ..	Vigilance Committee of Working Class Members of the Council of *prud' hommes*.....
Sagnol, E. Fournière	*Socialist Review*.....
Baulin-Mercier, Vignaud	Club of the Drop of Gold.....
Kugler	"The Awaking," at the Lilas.....
Crepet, Coupard, Saudemont....	Charonne Club .....
Tournier, Flachon	Club of the "Daybreak," Auteuil .....
Armand, Huguet, Melinet.....	Society of the Thelène Lodge.....

DEPARTMENTS.

E. Orry	Federative Union of Poitiers and Trades' Union of Book Workers .....
Bertin.....	Industrial Union of Rouen Cotton Trade.....
Louis Simonnet	Federation of the Metal Workers of St. Etienne .....
	Trade Union of Working Armourers, St. Etienne .....
Machieraldo	Algerian Trade Union of Operative Lithographers, Paper Rulers, and allied Branches .....
Prosper Bourdel	Trade Union of Stone Cutters, Mustapha, Algiers.....
Joseph Maupas.....	Trade Union of Plasterers, Algiers .....
François Dalle	Trade Union of Omnibus Collectors, Algiers .....
J. B. Dumay.....	Trade Union of Operative Weavers of Cholet.....
Muzillard	Trade Union of the Velvet Pile Carpet Weavers of Tourcoing
Monthieu and Perret	Federation of the Trades' Unions of Constantine, Algiers ..
Sigé and Soulery	,, Cooks of Algiers.....
Frich and Louis Blanc	Trade Union of Algerian Metal Workers.....
Officieux	Society of United Hair Dressers of Lyons .....
Avez	Society of Embroiderers of St. Quentin .....
Portrat	Union of the Working Miners of Bessèges .....
Thomas	Trade Society of Rennes Upholsterers .....
Ménager.....	Trade Union of Operative Tailors of Orleans .....
Chassagne	Trade Union of House Carpenters and Joiners at Clermont Ferrand .....
Josserand	Trade Union of Working Iron Moulders of Dijon .....
Brocard, Tiercin	Trade Union of Operative Shoemakers of Algiers .....
Gabriel Rogier	Algerian Federation of Workmen's Unions.....
Ernest Legrand, Edouard Griset	Trade Union General Alliance of Cabinet Workers of Calais and allied branches.
Saupique	Trade Union of Masons, Plasterers, and Cementers ; Federal Committee of Algiers.
Martin Coulomb	Trade Union of Tailors and Clothiers at Nismes .....
Henry Perret	Trade Union of Working Masons (Mustapha, Algiers) ; Club of the Workers of Constantine .....
Felix Beck.....	Trade Union of Dijon Tailors and Clothiers .....
Paul Chardon	Consultative Trade Union of Wooden Shoemakers, Angoulême
François Jacobert	Trade Union of United Corporations of Saint Nazaire.....

J. B. Clément	Trade Union of Slate Workers of Fumay, Ardennes; Trade Union of Charleville Brushmakers; the "Spark" Club, Charleville; Federation of the Ardennes	
Simon Anthelme	Trade Union of Weavers and Allied Branches of Grandris (Rhône)	
Louis Dufour	Trade Union of Working Hosiers, St. Maixent	
A. Simond, Tournissoud	Syndicate of the Union of Weavers and Allied Branches of Lyons	
Victorien Bruguier	Labour Exchange of Nismes	
Prevots-Millet	Trade Union of Weavers of St. Waats	
J. B. Calvignac	Trade Union of the Working Miners of Carmeaux	
Pons-Guiraudin	Trade Union of Metal Workers of Nismes	
Joseph Julliam	Trade Union of Working Coopers ,,	
Pierre Denis	Trade Union of Working Shoemakers ,,	
Gilbert, E. Lafon, Etienne	Trade Union of Working Cabinetmakers of Nismes	
Klein	Trade Union of Workers of the Valley of Avres	
Moreau	Trade Union of Compositors' Federation, Limoges	
A. Simon, fils	French Federation of Compositors and Allied Trades, Lyons	
L. Crozier	Federation of Trade Unions of St. Etienne	
Jules Loup	Trade Union of Metal Workers of Vrigne-aux-Bois	
Dambert, Leroux, Varenne	Society for Study of Saint-Maur les Fossés	
Pacotte, Meunier, Tolard	,, ,, Levallois-Perret	
Fichter, Malandain, Bovay	,, ,, Montreuil-Vincennes	
Remy, Despardins, Bauer	,, ,, Charenton-Saint-Maurice	
Auguin, Deschamps, Denain	,, ,, Courbevoie	
G. Lucas, Hébert, M. Lucas	,, ,, Versailles	
Philippe, Lefebvre, Verkinger	,, ,, Saint Ouen	
Opins, Carpentier	Free Thought of Montreuil-sous-Bois	
D'Herbecourt	St. Quentin Workmen's Club	
G. Fournier, Roland	Orleans Workmen's Club	
J. Mojonnet, A. Josserand	Dijon Workmen's Club	
Mogenier	Equitable Franco-Algerians	
Guillemot, E. Limousinn, Krebs	Solidarity of Chatellerault	
Aupetit, Navarre, Authier	The Equals, Angoulême Society for Study	
Navarre, Poulain, Matocq	Puteaux Club	
Louis Barteau	Society for Study at Cholet Trade Union of Various Corporations of Cholet	
Touroude, Pontoise, Chardon	Committee of St. Denis	
A. Lavy	Society for Study of Nevers	
Phillipe Fort, Aubrey, Muller	Alfortville Society	
Georges Limousin	"The Work" of Poitiers	
Levrel, Retif	The Sentinel of Tours	
Dufour, Fautras	General Council of the Interests of Tours	
Monthieu	Union of the Workmen of Constantine (Algiers)	

Holland.

J. A. Fortuijn W. H. Wliegen	Dutch Socialist Workman's Party ,, ,, ,, ,,	15,000

Italy.

Guiseppe Croce	Central Committee of the Italian Workmen's Party	
Alessandro Balducci Germanio Piselli Ferdinando Talducci	Socialist Revolutionary Workmen's Party of Romagna	
Francesco Cini E. Tiraboschi	Socialist Club, "Emancipation of Labour," of Leghorn	
Andrea Costa (Italian M.P.)	Socialist, Revolutionary, and Workmen's Party of Romagna; Socialist League of Milan; Workman's Consulate of Ravenna; Ravenna Newspaper "Sun of the Future;" Socialist Revolutionary Workman's Party Club, Rome; Reggi Emilie, Thought and Action Society, Naples; Democratic Thought and Action Society, Citta di Castello	
Amilcare Cipriani Dr. Merlino	Socialist Revolutionary Workmen's Party of Romagna, International Association; Federation of Ravenna; Veterans and Socialist Societies of Mirandola; The Louise Michel Women's Club of Ravenna; Anarchist Committee of Palermo; Federation of the Popular Societies of Parma, the Town and Province, Latin Section of the Universal Federation; International Club of Alfonsina; Anarchist Club of Rimini and San Maximo; Socialist Revolutionary Club of the Children of Toil	100,000

Poland.

Bolestas Limanoski	Central Committee of the *Mina*, National Polish Socialist Organisation; The Pobudka and Diana Newspapers	

Portugal.

Francisco Viterbo de Campos	Association of Silk Hatters of Oporto.	
	,, Metal Workers ,,	
	Co-operative Society of Productive workers (Weavers) of Oporto.	
	Association of the Workers ,,	
	Weavers' Co-operative Store ,,	
	Association of the Four Building Trades ,,	
	,, Male and Female Cigar Makers ,,	
	,, Tobacco Workers ,,	
	,, Weavers' Trade Societies ,,	
	,, Hat Preparers and Pressers ,,	
	,, Working Sabot Makers ,,	
	,, Cabinet Makers ,,	
	Northern Council of Workmen's Socialist Party.	
Manuel Luiz de Figueireda	Southern Federation of the Workmen's Socialist Party....	
	Association of the Portuguese Workmen's Party	
André-Gély	Journal and Society "The Voice of the Workman"	21,000

Russia.

Maria Polonski	Club of Socialist Revolutionary Refugees	

Spain.

Antonio Fernandez Felgueroso ..	Barcelona Society of Engineers.....	
Eudaldo Xuriguera.....	Society of Carders, Spinners, and Weavers, called the three classes of Steam Workers	
José Camps	Society of Hairdressers and Wigmakers of Barcelona.....	
Baldemero Oller	Society of United Dyers of Barcelona.....	
A. F. Fulgueroso	Society of Cabinetmakers of Barcelona	
	Society of Rollers of Barcelona.....	
Miguel Giber.....	Society of Wood Turners of Barcelona.....	5,000

Switzerland.

S. Paulard.....	Society of Allied Trades of Carrouge	
	Precursor Newspaper, Carrouge.....	
Molinari.....	Italian Association, "The Emancipation," at Zurich	
Bertrucci		

United States of America.

Paul T. Bowen.....	(Washington,) District Assembly No. 66, Knights of Labour	10,000
	Federation of (28) Washington Trades & Labour Unions, about	10,000
Will S. Wandby	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	
	International Typographical Union of the U. S. and Canada	35,000
T. F. Crowley	(Philadelphia) ,, ,, ,, ,,	
Max Georgei	German Workmen's Club (Washington)	

Austro-Hungary.

Seven delegates, whose names were not published, attended from the above countries, representing the following societies:—Union of Viennese Bakers; Federation of Upper Austria and Salzburg; Federation of the Workers of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; the Workers of Transylvania; Social Democratic Clubs of Hermanstadt, Khansemburg, Fermorac, Geyeria, Békès, and the Federation of Buda-Pesth; Club for Social Studies and Federation of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, and of the towns of Trieste and Fiume; the Porcelain Workers of Varoslod; Union of the Workers of Zala, Somogy, and Tast-Comitat; Social Democratic Electoral Society of Fapzolaza, Sumeg, Vesz Preim Papsa, and Stuthsemburg.*

* *We cannot answer for the orthography of these names.*

REPORT.

FIRST DAY, Monday, July 15th.

About 2 p.m. on Monday, July 15th, the preliminary sitting of the Congress was opened by M. Lavy, the Secretary of the French National Committee, who read a report drawn up by that Committee, relating to its correspondence with foreign countries about the convocation of the Congress. The report stated that a letter was received early in the present year from the Germans, who were not represented at the International Congress held in London last November, ignoring its decision and inviting the French to take part in a conference to arrange for summoning a Congress, in concert with other French parties. This conference was invited to meet at Nancy and ultimately took place at The Hague, on February 28th. It drew up a paper of business for the proposed Congress, practically identical with that already issued by the French National Committee. It also passed a resolution that "The Congress should be supreme as to the verification of credentials and the fixing of the order of the day," and that the invitations to the Congress should be issued "by the Federation of the Socialist workers of France, in concert with the working class and Socialist organisations of France and other countries." The French National Committee did not send a representative to the Hague conference, but on March 22nd wrote in reply that that they were willing to undertake the material organisation of the Congress single-handed, as desired by the London Congress, but that they must decline the responsibility of deciding which of the many French and other organisations in existence, should be invited to join in signing the Congress invitations. They pointed out that unless the "order of the day" was fixed before the meeting of the Congress, the delegates could not receive the instructions of their constituents, and that for their votes to have a representative authority it was necessary to decide some weeks in advance what subjects were to be discussed. The committee had proposed six weeks as the limit for this purpose, and up to the 31st of May the workers of all countries were invited to send in notice of the subjects they wished included in the programme. As to the verification of credentials, it was only proposed to follow the procedure of the London Congress, where the members of each nationality examined the credentials of their countrymen, reporting to the Congress, which decided upon doubtful cases by vote. The Committee received no reply to this letter, but meanwhile they received assurances of support from the great majority of Parisian Trade Unions, who appointed a Special Committee to act with the National Executive in promoting the Congress. The Secretary concluded by enumerating the countries which had sent representatives and welcoming them to the Congress. The Workmen's Parties of Denmark, Holland, and Belgium had decided to send official representatives to both Congresses; the Trade Societies of Spain and Portugal had made great efforts to send representatives. The British Isles had sent 40 representatives, among whom 18 represented Trade Unions. France itself had sent representatives of 136 Trade Societies or Trade Councils, and 77 clubs for the study of social subjects. The common object of all was to join hands fraternally on the Centenary of the French Revolution, and vow to devote their whole existence to the vindication of the rights of Labour, the conquest of social equality, and the complete emancipation of the human race.

Mr. Smith gave an abridged English translation of the report, and in the name of the National Committee M. Lavy then invited the meeting to choose its officers, that the business of the Congress might begin. It was agreed that a French president, a president of some other nationality, and two vice-presidents, should be appointed afresh at every sitting. Joffrin, member of the Municipal Council of Paris, was appointed French, and Snow foreign chairman for the remainder of the sitting, and a number of congratulatory letters and telegrams were read. To save the time of the Congress, it was afterwards decided only to announce without reading them.

A. F. Felgueroso (Spain) gave notice that there was a strike at Barcelona among the painters on woven goods, that the employers had announced the intention of sending to France for workers, and that he hoped members of the Congress would warn their friends against accepting such invitations.

G. Croce mentioned as a sign of the growth of the workmen's party in Italy that the peasantry were beginning to take part in the movement, and that in the north over 10,000 of them were enrolled in Socialist organisations.

F. V. de Campos (Portugal) hoped that the International Workmen's Association would again become a reality.

J. D. Nieass said that his presence at the Congress, as a delegate of the London Radical clubs, was an indication that English political societies saw the necessity of grappling with social problems.

J. Jensen, President of the Federated Trade Societies of Denmark, appealed to members of the Congress to help the house carpenters of Copenhagen, of whom 3,000 were on strike.

A. Costa moved that the Standing Orders Committee of Congress should consist of the National Committee, by whom it had been convoked.

A. Lavy said the committee would not wish to accept the office unless representatives of all the other nations were associated with them. He stated that an enormous number of written resolutions had been handed in, and that the first business of the committee would be to classify and summarise them.

J. Burns and Gelez observed that the delegates' credentials were still unverified, and proposed that this should be done, and that each nationality should appoint one of its members to serve on the Standing Orders Committee. This was agreed to, and the public sitting was suspended at 5-30 p.m. The English delegates, in a private conference, agreed to nominate C. Fenwick, M.P., as their representative on the Standing Orders Committee, and appointed J. Burns, C. Fenwick, W. Parnell, R. Hunter, and J. Tanner to verify the credentials of the English delegates.

SECOND DAY, Tuesday, 16th.

Shortly before ten on Tuesday morning the Congress opened its first regular sitting. J. B. Clément and G. Defnet were elected French and

foreign presidents. A. Lavy was appointed secretary, with H. Galiment, A. Duval, and subsequently two others as assistants. The minutes were read towards the close of the sitting, or whenever they happened to be ready, so it was not easy to check their accuracy. The nominal hours of meeting were from 9 to 1 in the morning, and from 8 to 11 at night.

All the credentials of the foreign delegates were reported to be in order, and it was stated that the eight Belgian delegates present represented thirteen trade unions, fifty other societies, and 204,000 members in all. The delegates of the British Isles represented fourteen trade unions or councils, with 118,361 members, and seven other societies, with 22,167 members; the two Danish delegates represented seventy trade unions and other societies, with 20,200 members; the two Dutch delegates forty-five various societies and seventy-three trade unions, with about 15,000 members; thirteen Portuguese societies, with 21,000 members, sent three delegates; and the five Spanish delegates represented 5,000 members of trade societies. The French committee reported that some few credentials were informal, wanting the stamp of the society, etc., that one or two had been sent by mistake to the other Congress, and the constituents referred to by telegram, but that the committee recommended the acceptance of all save one, viz., the delegate of a syndical chamber including employers as well as workmen. This society had had long notice, but had failed to reorganise itself, and its representative was therefore declared to be ineligible. An attempt was made to challenge a delegate as a Boulangist, but it was explained that his credentials were perfectly in order, and the objection was dropped.

G. Defnet, secretary of the Belgian Workmen's Party, then read in the name of his constituents a formal proposal for the union of the two Congresses, adding that should this prove to be impracticable, it might yet be possible for them to unite in one final sitting, and agree upon time and place for the next International Congress, which the Belgians desired should be held in Brussels in 1891. The discussion was adjourned at 1-30, to be resumed at the evening sitting. About 9 p.m., Paulard and Campos being presidents, a letter from the American Federation of Labour was begun to be read by a gentleman who stated he had travelled from the United States for the sole purpose of doing so, but on its being pointed out that he was not a delegate, the letter was handed to the secretary, and the thanks of the Congress subsequently voted.

J. B. Clement moved that as all present were agreed in desiring the union of the two Congresses, the discussion should be limited to the practical conditions of union.

Cipriani urged that the Socialists of Europe should show a united front to middle-class capitalism. It was stated by delegates, who had attended the afternoon sitting of the other Congress, held in the Rue Rochechouart, that the subject of fusion had been discussed there. A proposal, made by Domela Niewenhuis in the name of Holland, that the Congresses should unite and accept each others credentials *en bloc* was rejected, and a resolution, moved by the German member of Parliament, Liebknecht, was adopted. This resolution threw the blame of the division upon the organisers of the Congress at Rue de Lancry, but expressed a willingness to accept the fusion if it was proposed on acceptable conditions.

Blondeau moved that the Congress should accept fusion, on the understanding that the credentials of all the delegates should be verified by the united Congress, and that the paper of business should include the orders of the day of both Congresses.

Gelez moved that in view of the material difficulties in the way of a union so late in the Congress week, the two Congresses should discuss and vote separately, but that committees should be appointed to combine the result of their deliberations, and to prepare for a joint final session, at which arrangements could be made jointly for the next International Congress.

J. Burns spoke in favour of union. He had friends in both Congresses, and he found that in both there were genuine working men and representatives of the interests of Labour. He urged the French Socialists of different parties to waive their personal quarrels and differences and work together as the English Trade Unionists and Social-Democrats at the Congress did.

Mrs. Besant insisted on the importance of examining the credentials to see that all delegates had a really representative character, it having been alleged that some English delegates at the other Congress only represented themselves.

W. Parnell supported the same view.

W. H. Wliegen said the verification of the credentials was a matter of procedure rather than principle; the important point was to unite the champions of the proletariate.

F. V. de Campos declared that the Portuguese delegates at the other Congress did not represent real working-class associations.

A. Costa said the Italian delegates had been expressly charged to attend both Congresses, in the hope of bringing about a fusion, and that object was more important than any formalities.

A. Lavy replied that the French Workmen's party had done its utmost to avoid division, and that members of the Dissenting Congress could only be admitted on the same terms as had been accepted by all those present in that hall.

The closure was then voted and the substance of the Blondeau resolution was adopted, viz., that fusion was accepted subject to the credentials of all delegates being verified by the united Congress. Austro-Hungary, Denmark, England, France, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland voted for this resolution, and America, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Poland voted against it,—*i.e.*, in favour of unconditional fusion. The sitting closed at half-past twelve.

THIRD DAY, Wednesday, 17th.

P. J. Bowen and J. Allemane were appointed presidents of the morning sitting.

A. Costa inquired how the resolution of the preceding evening was to be communicated to the other Congress.

It was resolved that the Italian delegates should be requested to convey a letter embodying the terms of the resolutions adopted.

A discussion then took place as to whether reports on the state of Labour in the different countries represented should be read, and the affirmative was carried, Belgium, Denmark, France,

Poland, and Spain, voting for reports, America, England, and Holland against, Austria and Italy abstaining.

G. DEFNET then read a report from Belgium, reproducing the information as to wages and hours of work given at the London Congress. The agricultural labourers in the mining districts work habitually 13 hours a day for 10d., a third of the population receive charitable assistance, and Belgium is called the capitalist's paradise, because in no country is there so little legislation in restraint of economic abuses. Wages on the average have fallen 10 per cent in the last 20 years' and in some trades as much as 50 per cent. A board of arbitration has been proposed, but under conditions which are so unacceptable that the workmen refuse to avail themselves of the act. The speaker concluded by advocating the revival of the old "International" Association.

J. JENSEN gave an account of the workmen's movement in Denmark, dating from 1871; about 45,000 workmen are enrolled in Trade Societies, and Clubs for social studies and political action embrace about 50,000 members; the two sets of organisations act in concert and harmony; the last strike had cost the party £28,000. In Copenhagen the Socialists have seven newspapers of their own, with a circulation one of about 25,000 copies, and seven other papers, one illustrated, are maintained in other parts of the country. The average day's work is of 12 hours, and in most trades the average earnings come to about £40 a year. The Workmen's Party hope before very long to substitute a Socialist Republic for the despotic monarchy by which they are now governed.

The Spanish report, translated by A. COSTA, stated that the Socialist movement in Spain began in 1848 among the Catalan weavers, and since the expulsion of the Bourbons in 1869 it has made rapid progress with the spread of education and improved organisation. Though the Cortes have declared the party to be an illegal association, in practice they enjoyed full liberty to meet and write and say what they please. They had lately addressed an important petition to the Government urging it to reduce the hours of work by law. At present the day's work varies from 11 hours to 13; wages are insufficient and strikes frequent. One chief hindrance to improvement is the existence of divisions amongst the Socialists themselves, but the Spaniards are not wanting in practical intelligence, and the speaker hoped this division would be superseded by a close national and international alliance amongst all workers against their common foe, capitalism.

CAUMEAU and FORTUIJN were nominated presidents of the evening sitting.

A. COSTA announced the answer from the (so-called) Marxist Congress, that as they had proposed no conditions, they would accept none, and could only vote for "union pure and simple," *i.e.*, without further verification of credentials. Costa made an impassioned speech in favour of union on any terms, and declared that if it were not accepted the Italian delegates, though continuing to attend both Congresses, would abstain from voting in either.

CROCE, one of his colleagues, dissented, and announced the intention of continuing to vote.

The Congress agreed, without a division, to thank the Italian delegates for their intervention, and to proceed to the order of the day.

To save the time of the Congress, the American, Dutch, English, and Portuguese delegates decided not to give any formal report, and the discussion on the first subject on the printed agenda began, viz., International Legislation on Labour; The Establishment by Law of a Normal Working Day; Day Work, Night Work; Holidays; The Work of Adults, Women, and Children; Inspection of Workshops in Large, Small, and Home Industries; The Practical Means of Obtaining Reforms in these Directions.

The discussion was opened by a representative of the (Paris) Numerical Printers' and Pagers' Society, who, in its name, advocated the enforcement of an eight hours' day by law, on the ground that long hours are injurious to health, leave no time for the political education of men, who are, nevertheless, called on to take part in electing the Legislature, and withdraw the worker from the society of his family. If it was found impossible to prevent overtime and night work altogether, the employers using it should be obliged to pay a tax for every such hour of work, the receipts from which should be devoted to a pension fund.

JENSEN, on behalf of the Danish workers, demanded an eight hours' day and the prohibition of night work, with the compulsory observance of holidays. Inspection of factories and workshops was ineffective, because the inspectors are appointed, not by those who have an interest in making it efficient, *i.e.*, by the workers themselves, but by officials taken from the employer class.

BAREZ (Lithographic Printers) read a paper drawn up by his society, tracing the recurrence of industrial crises and slack times to the excessive hours worked by some members of the trade while others were unemployed. He contended the workman's wages should suffice for the support of his family, leaving the wife free for family cares; when women did work, they should receive the same salary as men for the same work, instead of reducing wages by working cheap.

P. BOWEN said all present were agreed as to the importance of shortening the hours of labour; the question was, how to do so in practice. Trade combination was less effective in the United States than in any European country, because of the half million of workers poured into the country every year from without. The American Government had made a law against emigration agencies, and the speaker urged the Socialists of Europe to put pressure on their own Governments to make the misrepresentations of such agents penal here also. If the American workmen were ever relieved from this influx of cheap and helpless labour, they would not only organise efficiently for their own protection, but be able to assist their comrades in Europe.

A. SIMOND (Lyons Weavers) advocated international legislation on the hours of labour, and the establishment of a minimum wage regulated in accordance with the price of the necessaries of life. This minimum should be fixed by the syndical chambers, which should also be entrusted with the management of communal workshops for the unemployed. Children under 16 should not be allowed to work at all, nor women at work too heavy for their strength. The old and disabled workers should be provided for at the public expense. To effect these results, the workmen's associations represented at the Congress should agitate strenuously in their respective countries,

and urge upon all candidates for power the acceptance of those legislative measures as a condition of support. The weavers also recommended a revival of the old International Society upon a new plan, giving fuller scope to the autonomy of its separate branches.

CROCE, on behalf of the Italian Labour Party, advocated an eight-hours' day to be fixed by law, abolition of night work, and double pay for it when unavoidable; the employment of children to be forbidden, and that of women regulated; inspection of factories and workshops to be in the hands of men appointed by the trade societies; energetic trade organisation and Socialist propaganda was the best means of realising these aims.

The discussion was adjourned at 11-30 p.m.

FOURTH DAY, THURSDAY, 18TH.

The Congress began its sitting this day with an unusual approach to punctuality. Dumay and Jensen were appointed presidents.

T. WALKER supported the limitation by law of the day's work to eight hours. Even trade societies were beginning to see in England that such a limitation could not become general without legislation. A recent report, published by a committee of the House of Lords, showed that the day's work in London often reached sixteen or eighteen hours; that women worked for 10d. a day, and men knowing a trade for 16s. a week. The state of things in England at its worst was worse than anything on the Continent. The reduction of the day's work to eight hours was even more important than an increase of wages, because with more leisure the workers would be able to learn what other permanent remedies were needed.

PERRET, a delegate from Constantine, Algiers, began by saying he felt unequal to speaking before so large an assembly. He was charged to express the doubts of his constituents on the subjects of an eight hours' day and the abolition of Sunday labour, unless it was clearly understood that wages were not to be reduced or men prevented from working on Sunday if they had been unemployed during the rest of the week.

SOULERY, a representative of the Trade Society of Cooks at Constantine, ran rapidly through the programme of the Congress, advocating all the usual measures, and claiming for the cooks the right to be regarded as "workmen" rather than as domestic servants. He referred to the Algerian railways, undertaken by contractors at a low price, and then sublet again and again, so that finally the lowest wages were offered to the actual workers. Algeria was "invaded by Italians"; nevertheless, there was no disagreement among the labourers of different countries, who were united in demanding better terms, until some of the employers began to "*chanter patriotisme*" to their countrymen, and persuade them that they were only asked to accept low wages in order to keep the work from the foreigners. In this way disputes were fomented, the result being that 1,000 soldiers were now employed to stand guard over 500 navvies.

CLEMENT, a member of the Commune and delegate from the Ardennes, spoke of the depressed state of the nail trade, in which heads of families earned less than seven francs a week, while the nails for the shoes of French cavalry were bought in Norway, Denmark, and even Prussia. He also told a tragic story of some glass works at Charleville, where small boys were employed at the rate of 2½d. a day--or, as he put it, children "cooked" at that price per head. These little fellows actually organised a strike for increased wages, but when the employers threatened to dismiss them the poor children were forced to go back to the factory by their own mothers, who were afraid of losing the 2½d! He concluded by reading a long list of the demands formulated by his constituents: the diminution of the hours of work without corresponding reduction of wages; the rates of wages to be fixed by the Syndical Chambers; the abolition of sweating, and the competition of prisons and religious institutions with ordinary labour; in his own department especially, the slate quarry men to have the same rights as miners, and the execution of French Government work by French operatives; the establishment of pensions for superannuated workers; the abolition of child labour and the substitution of a thorough general and technical education at the public expense; the election of workmen as municipal and general councillors, in connection with which subject the speaker referred to the victories already obtained by the representatives of the workers' party on the Paris Town Council; and, finally, the socialisation of the instruments of production.

H. W. HOBART gave an account of the formation of the gas stokers' union to show that it was possible by association to obtain an increase of wages at the same time as a reduction in the hours of work. In 14 weeks, the members of this union increased from 80 to 5,000, and he had just heard that, as a result, their employers had acceded to all the demands they had advanced—an increase of wages, double pay for overtime and Sunday work, and the reduction by about 20 hours of the regular week's work. The workers must help themselves, and this they could only do by association, but, when they had learned to combine, they would be able by united action to do more than merely regulate hours and wages. The speaker also urged that engineers, employed on new labour-saving machines, should refuse their services, except upon an undertaking that the machines should not be used in such a way as to throw the workers already in the trade out of employment.

W. PARNELL advocated an international labour law; factory inspection by workmen of the trade to be inspected; and international trade organisation. If all the workers of any trade throughout the world were united, they could do anything they chose; the future of the Socialist workers' party was in the workers' own hands.

LENORMAND (Solidarity of Paris Hairdressers) advocated the suppression by law of private registry offices, by which numerous classes of workers are unscrupulously plundered in Paris; one day's rest in the week, abolition of night-work for women, and equal payment to women and men for the same work, and the total prohibition of the employment of children under the age of eleven. All the Paris Trades' Unions connected with the food supply endorse the demand relating to the *bureaux de placement* or registry offices, which it is desired to supersede through the development of the Labour Exchange.

A desultory discussion followed as to the course of procedure. It was stated that a large number

of resolutions were in the hands of the Standing Orders Committee, and that its members hoped to be ready by the evening sitting with the draft of a resolution embodying the general sense of the Congress. Some of the English delegates objected that they could not speak upon the subject until they knew what resolution was to be put to the vote, and could not understand how the Congress could be asked to vote upon a resolution that had not been spoken to. It was finally agreed that the proposed resolution of the Standing Orders Committee should be submitted the first thing in the evening, and that one delegate of each nationality, appointed by his countrymen, should speak for or against the motion, unless the nationality was divided, in which case one speaker was to be heard from each section.

Berthaud and Felgueroso were chosen presidents of the evening sitting. After the minutes had been read, the Standing Orders Committee presented its report, as follows:—The Committee, after having carefully examined the reports and resolutions submitted to the Congress, recommend the following series of resolutions for adoption as embodying the views of the great majority of delegates—

(1) Eight hours a day for the maximum day's work fixed by international law; (2) at least one day's holiday in each week, and no work on fête days; (3) abolition of night work as far as practicable for men and women, and entirely for children; (4) total suppression of children's labour below the age of 14, and protection of children up to the age of 18; (5) complete general, technical, and professional education; (6) overtime to be paid for at double rates, and limited to four hours in each 24; (7) civil and criminal responsibility of employers for accidents; (8) an adequate number of qualified inspectors to be nominated by the workers themselves and paid by the State or the Commune, with full powers to enter workshops or factories or religious establishments at any time and to examine the apprentices at their own homes; (9) workshops organised by the workers with subventions from the municipalities or the State; (10) prison and workhouse labour to be conducted under the same conditions as free labour, and to be employed as far as possible on great public works; (11) no foreign labourers to be allowed to accept employment, and no employers to be allowed to employ such labour at rates of wages below the trade union rates fixed for their trade; (12) a minimum wage to be fixed in every country in accordance with a reasonable standard of life; (13) abrogation of all laws against the international organisation of labour; (14) equal pay and opportunities for women and men for equal work.*

Dr. Merlino, after the resolutions had been read, appealed to the Congress to say whether he might speak and vote there, as well as in the other Congress. The President, Berthaud, replied that the delegate's credentials were quite in order, and that he was, therefore, perfectly at liberty to take part in the proceedings of that Congress; and that as for what he might do elsewhere, he was only responsible to his own conscience and constituents. He then made a speech protesting, on behalf of the Italian anarchists, against the policy of attempting to secure social reforms through existing governments, and declaring all such propositions to be snares and delusions, by which the workmen were seduced from following the radical methods of true liberty or anarchism.

On an appeal from the chair, this speech, which was utterly opposed to the opinions of the mass of delegates, was listened to in courteous silence.

A resolution, substantially similar to that of the Standing Orders Committee, was handed in by the Danish delegation.

L. Verrycken observed that there was one practical difficulty in the way of a universal eight-hours' day, namely, that in countries like Belgium, where 12 hours' work is now usual, it implies a greater reduction than in England, France, or America, where nine or ten hours are customary. He also thought that the weekly holiday should be so arranged as not to interfere with the wants of human activity.

J. B. Clement demanded that night work should be paid at double rates, and that to compensate parents for the loss of their children's earnings, the latter should be maintained, as well as educated, at the public cost.

A delegate of the Hairdressers objected to the prohibition of Sunday work; each trade should be allowed to choose its own holiday. It was on Sunday that other workers patronised his trade.

John Burns observed, in answer to Merlino, that working men would prefer an eight-hours' day procured by parliamentary legislation to all the blessings of anarchy and 14 hours' work. Already, where working men and trade unionists had got representatives, chosen by themselves, elected on town or county councils, an eight-hours' day had been secured for the workers immediately in the employ of such bodies. As a proof of what the workers could gain by shortened hours, and the sanitary and other reforms affecting their class, which shortened hours enabled them to obtain, he stated that, during the last 25 years the average duration of life in his own trade had risen from 38 years to 48½. Production was not diminished by the shorter hours, as machinery was improved when human labour ceased to be so cheap that it could be wastefully applied. The qualities which make a good trade unionist, active in promoting the organisation of his trade, regular in his subscriptions and in the use of his votes, are the same which will make men ready for every sacrifice and effort in a final struggle for the complete emancipation of the workers.

Dumay, also an engineer, spoke on the same side, and described some of the improvements which had been effected by legislation in France since 1874. Apprentices were no longer allowed to be turned into domestic drudges and made to work more than the legal hours or carry heavy weights, and the inspection of factories and workshops, which had been entrusted to certain local

* Mr. Hyndman had kindly assisted Mr. Fenwick in the work of the Standing Orders Committee, necessarily carried on in French, and a translation of the proposed resolutions was submitted to all the English delegates in a private conference before the Congress met, at which it was agreed to accept all the resolutions except No. 6, which was objected to, especially by the trade unionists, on the grounds that extra pay is not a sufficient deterrent, and that while men will work more than 12 hours in exceptional emergencies to save life or property, the number of hours worked for profit in the week should not exceed 48, if the eight-hour system was to be a reality. It was stated afterwards that the Congress would willingly have accepted an amendment in this sense, but by some accident it was not put as such, so the resolutions were carried as printed.

committees, was made a reality wherever the members of such committees were energetic in the discharge of their duties. An employer had been fined £4 for refusing to allow a lady appointed by one such committee to enter his factory, and in many other ways the workers found themselves able, even under the existing *régime*, to obtain reforms affecting their health and well-being, which were not to be despised.

C. Fenwick, on behalf of the Northumberland miners, advocated international legislation in favour of an eight hours' day, and explained that he should not support such a law in England unless it was also adopted in other countries.

A Danish Delegate advocated the suppression of domestic workshops, and the substitution of co-operative factories. An English Delegate observed that a thorough system of factory and workshop inspection would put a stop to most of the abuses connected with home work.

Three supplementary resolutions were handed in by C. de Paepe, Limanoski, and E. Simcox, and approved by the Congress, which then proceeded to vote upon the 14 resolutions, which were carried, Italy abstaining, and England objecting to No. 6. The sitting closed at midnight.

FIFTH DAY, Friday, 19th.

Limanoski and A. Dubois were appointed presidents of the morning sitting. The Congress then adopted the following resolutions: — (1) Moved by C. de Paepe, that the use of poisonous substances in manufactures should be prohibited when innocuous substitutes could be found, and that the inspection of factories and workshops should be international. The precedent of the existing fishery laws was cited to prove that there was nothing impossible in the proposal, which was agreed to without opposition. (2) Limanoski (the president) moved that it was desirable for every nationality to preserve or to recover its political freedom. In Poland the workers could do nothing for their own emancipation; even education was rendered useless to their children, who were set to learn lessons by rote in the language of their conquerors, without understanding it. Carried unanimously. (3) E. Simcox moved that the workmen's party in all countries should pledge itself to promote the formation of trade organisations among the workers of both sexes. Carried unanimously. (4) J. B. Clément moved that the education and maintenance of children should be provided at the public cost. Carried without opposition, but some abstentions. (5) H. Burrows moved that the resolution of the Congress on the subject of labour legislation should be communicated to the Swiss International Conference, proposed to be held at Berne. Carried unanimously.

The discussion of the second subject on the paper of business then opened, viz., the most practical means of establishing constant relations between the working class organisations of all countries, without, however, in any way interfering with their autonomy or self-government.

H. M. Hyndman moved a resolution affirming the principle that each nation is the best judge of the political and social tactics to be followed in it; that with a view to international correspondence, a committee should be formed by the trade unions of each country; that a similar correspondence committee should be formed by the Socialist organisations in countries where no National Committee exists, and that in countries where such a National Committee does exist, it should discharge this function. These committees should meet once in three months, or oftener, if necessary, to agree upon their action. The speaker said that the international organisation of trade societies was a very important question. The Socialist delegates had so far allowed the trade unionists to take the chief part in the debates, but it was time now to assure French Socialists that their co-religionists across the channel were not less attached than themselves to the red flag. International association was necessary, but not to be pursued at the expense of national independence. Any permanent International Committee would be tempted to take too much power into its own hands; committees for correspondence were all that was necessary. There were many shades of opinion among English working men. Some trade unionists were advanced, some moderate Socialists, some did not call themselves socialists at all, but they could work together, as had been shown by Hobart in reference to the gas-stokers, and by the experience of the present Congress, in promoting the immediate practical measure upon which they were all agreed. For his own part he looked upon all the measures voted by the Congress as palliatives rather than remedies, and he did not believe the complete emancipation of the workers could be secured until they had obtained for themselves the control of the land and all the machinery for production and communication. But the first step towards that wider result was for the workers of all classes and of all nations to cultivate close and friendly relations, as he hoped would be the case increasingly between the English Socialists and trade unionists, and between the workers of England and of other countries.

B. Cooper expressed his satisfaction on hearing the preceding speaker, and thought it would have been well if all Socialists had taken the same line. He could not speak for his constituents, but for his own part he was prepared to recommend them to accept a similar proposition for uniting all shades of opinion among the working classes. He regretted the action of the Parliamentary Committee in refusing to transmit the French Committee's invitation to the Trade Societies, and he maintained that the Trades' Congress was more advanced in its views than Mr. Hyndman had implied, as it had voted in 1888 for the principle of nationalising the soil and mines. He would do all in his power to promote the suggestion for practical co-operation between Socialists and Unionists.

B. Oller said a few words in Spanish, advocating international intercourse, and the establishment of centres for international correspondence, not merely in the capital of each country, but in all the principal industrial cities.

A. Greenwood spoke on behalf of a society (glass bottle makers), which had an international constitution. He thought there should be a central committee, both to collect statistics and information, and to translate foreign communications. When his society received news of the last strike among the French glass workers, he had to send

the letter back to London to be translated, causing inconvenience and delay.

A. Lavy wished to acknowledge, on behalf of the French workmen, the brotherly help given by the English society just referred to, which had contributed £200 to the late strike. He pointed out, however, that the Correspondence Committee, which it was proposed to establish, would be able to assist the trade societies in their international relations, and that a Central International Committee would endanger the independence of the various national parties if it aimed at more than transmitting the communications received from all quarters to their destination. It was not desired to form a close Socialist sect, but an organisation broad enough to include all comers, provided they were honestly bent on improving the conditlon of the people.

C. Fenwick supported Greenwood's proposition. Social progress must be gradual; it could not be effected as the Social Democrats seemed to think by a single touch of a magician's wand. Education was the great want; all workers should master French or English, so that the proceedings in congresses, like the present, might be abridged; but meanwhile he thought that an International Statistical Committee would be useful.

The debate was then adjourned to 3 p.m., when the second sitting was held, so as to allow the delegates to attend the reception at the Hotel de Ville, to which they had been invited by the Paris Town Council in the evening.

Philippe and Blanvallet were appointed presidents for the afternoon.

W. H. Eveleigh moved a resolution in favour of the study of a second language in all elementary schools. Nothing would do more to facilitate the intercourse between the workers than for everyone to learn either English or French, the most widely spoken of all languages, in addition to his native tongue. He submitted the resolution already adopted by his society on this subject. Carried unanimously.

A. Lavy gave a report as to the final numbers of delegates present and societies represented, viz., 521 French delegates representing 227 societies, and 91 foreign delegates representing 142 societies.

L. Verrycken then read the report of the Standing Orders Committee, which proposed, again as a digest of the various motions submitted, a resolution in six articles, as follows, which was unanimously adopted:—

"1. That permanent relations should be established between the Socialist organisations of different countries; but that in no case and under no pretext should such relations be allowed to impair the autonomy of the national groups, which should be the only, as they are the best, judges of the tactics to be employed in their own country.

"2. That trade societies and workmen's groups be invited to federate themselves, both nationally and internationally.

"3. That the question of issuing an international organ, published in several languages, be submitted to the consideration of the Socialist parties in different countries.

"4. That it is desirable that every working-class organisation should give to such of its members as leave their native place a card which will ensure their recognition by their brethren of all countries.

"5. That in every country national committees shall be established, if they do not already exist, to keep up international relations between trade organisations and those of a political and social order.

"6. That each year, and for one year only, the national committee of one country shall serve as central organ for international correspondence under a pledge not to deal with any question outside the powers conferred on it."

A supplementary article was added declaring it to be the business of the international committee or committees so appointed to transmit to the parties interested all the communications addressed to them affecting the social and industrial condition of the workers; and it was further resolved that a copy of the resolution should be forwarded to the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades' Union Congress, with a request to bring it before the annual congress to be held at Dundee in September, 1889. The meeting then adopted two resolutions moved by the American delegates, the first condemning emigration and approving the United States law against the importation of contract labour, and the second declaring that the protective regulations, previously demanded, were only to be regarded as palliatives pending the complete approbation and control of all the means of production by the workers.

The third subject of discussion, viz., "The formation of 'rings' and 'trusts' by manufacturers and capitalists, and the consequent necessity of trade intervention," was then opened by Caumeau, who urged that the workers, like the capitalists, should ignore the existence of frontiers, and form alliances as far-reaching as those which unite the speculators of all countries in their plots for monopolising the productions of the general industry. The American delegates sub mitted a resolution to the effect that, since it would be extremely difficult to prohibit the formation of capitalistic syndicates and the creation of rings and corners by law, the workers should endeavour to organise themselves so completely as to be able to seize, when the time comes, upon all existing capitalistic machinery, and reduce it to the service of the whole community.

The sitting was adjourned at 5 p.m.

SIXTH DAY, Saturday, 20th.

Baldomero Oller and Bataille were chosen presidents for the morning. L. Verrycken, a Belgian delegate, reported with regret the news received that day of the collapse of the strike at the quarries of Quenast, which had been going on for more than six months. In this strike the State had virtually come to the assistance of the company, by allowing them to import and use other inferior stone to that which their contracts bound them to deliver. The workmen's party had voted a daily allowance of bread to the 1,600 men affected by the strike, but it was not enough for them to live on. The strike had begun in defence of men dismissed for taking part in trade organisations, and the speaker described how a trifling variation in the signature of the workman's *livret* was understood both in Belgium and on the French frontiers to mean that a workman with an ostensibly good character was "dangerous," and to be boycotted.

J. B. Nic, member of a Socialist club at Montmartre, described how on French railways parties of Italian and Belgian workmen were employed alongside of the Frenchmen, and when the former had been induced to accept work at 35c. an hour the latter, whose wages were properly 40c. an hour, had to accept the reduction or go. He therefore desired to move that sub-contracts should be abolished and all Government works given direct to be executed by trade societies under foremen chosen by themselves. It was further explained that the regulations of the Paris Municipal Council to the effect that trade-union rates should be paid by the contractors employed on public works had no legal force, and when a contract had been signed there were no means of insisting on the fulfilment of the condition. The only course open to the workers' friends was to attempt to exclude employers who were notorious for the bad treatment of their workmen from the list of firms permitted to tender.

G. Dew, on behalf of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (London District), supported a similar resolution, in pursuance of the precise instructions given him by his society. They wished to have it laid down that no contractor shall be allowed to receive a contract from any Government, municipal council, or other corporate bodies, unless he signed a declaration that he pays not less than the recognised or trades union rate of wages, and that his hours of labour are such as are accepted as fair by the workers employed in each branch of his trade. At present the English Government was the worst employer of labour in the country so far as the building trades were concerned. The custom was to draw up a fair schedule of prices, and then to ask contractors at what reduction upon the schedule they would accept the work; some contractors were always found to tender low, and so the Government appeared as a sweater, and the men indirectly employed by it were habitually found to earn from 1½d. to 2½d. an hour less than those working for private persons. The speaker also referred to the successful efforts of three delegates present—Besant and Cook, of the London School Board, and Burns, of the County Council—to obtain official recognition for trade society prices and the eight hours' day.

Clement, of the Ardennes, complained that even when the law protected the men's right to combine, or to receive fair wages, the employers were stronger than the law, and got the men themselves to become their accomplices by pretending to receive more wages than they actually did. He also denounced, like Verrycken, the assistance given by the State to the employers during strikes, as at Marseilles, when the attempts of the journeymen bakers to improve their condition were defeated by the employment of soldiers to do the baking, or in other cases when the military are called out to terrorise ro coerce the strikers.

Racine (a wood carver) thought that workmen, before appealing to the State to regulate wages, should do what lay in their own power to reduce the influence of employers' combinations. They should unite in national trade unions, and these should federate themselves internationally, so as to support their comrades on strike and send intelligence of any dispute to the countries whence workers may be invited.

The report of the Standing Orders Committee was then brought up by Allemane, recommending the adoption of the following resolution: "Considering that manufacturing and capitalistic coalitions of a national and international character can only be really abolished, when the working classes of the world have become strongly organised enough to take possession of the productive forces, and organise the production and exchange of commodities in the best interests of humanity as a whole; considering, further, that such working class organisation will require prolonged efforts, and that more immediate remedies are required; the Congress decides that the working organisations in all countries should do their utmost to induce their Governments to suppress by law all coalitions, rings, or trusts which have the object of monopolising either raw material, the necessaries of life, or labour itself."

P. J. Bowen objected to the resolution, as "rings" and "corners" are not the same as "trusts," and some American Socialists believe that the development of trusts will be a step in the evolution of collectivism. Trusts do not necessarily raise prices to the consumer; their great wealth, and the economy effected by doing away with competition, enables them to improve machinery, and both produce and distribute their goods more cheaply than the private traders they supersede. The Petroleum Trust in America sells oil cheaper than the 3,000 rivals it superseded. The trusts will eat up small capitalists and small employers, and capitalism will bring itself to the state in which the tyrant wished to see his enemies; it will have, as it were, one neck, and when the social evil is brought into that compass the workers will know how to deal with it.

E. Simcox suggested that the word "trusts" should be omitted from the resolution. This institution was as yet little known on this side of the Atlantic, and it was quite different from the "rings" and "corners" with which we were familiar. The "trust" did not necessarily aim at reducing wages, only at putting a stop to the reckless competition of traders and establishing a "fair price" for goods, as trade societies wish to fix a fair price for labour.

J. Allemane thought that there was a danger, if trusts were allowed to become so strong, that, instead of the workers being able to master the trusts, the trusts might enslave the workers.

The vote was taken on the resolution of the Committee, amended by the omission of the word "trusts"; in this form it was carried unanimously, and the Congress adjourned at 1 p.m. till evening.

Mrs. Besant and A. Lavy were appointed presidents for the last sitting, which opened at 9 p.m. The subject for discussion was the date and place of the next Congress, rules to be adopted for its convocation, its organisation, and the transaction of its business.

G. Defnet, on behalf of the Belgian workmen's party, moved that the Congress should be held at Brussels in 1891, that the organisation should be entrusted to the party he represented, that the Congress should be open to societies proved to have been in existence in the preceding year, and that the credentials of delegates should be verified in the same way as at the Paris Congress. Belgium could not rival the splendid hospitalities of Paris, but the Congress would be able to meet in a hall

belonging to the workers themselves, bought with their own hardly-economised halfpence.

It was believed, as it turned out erroneously, that the Marxist Congress had already adopted a resolution in favour of the same date and place, and the proposal was adopted unanimously.

A discussion arose upon a secondary question—which country should be charged in the first instance with the duty of acting as centre for international communications? It was first proposed that the French National Committee should be chosen for the work.

H. M. HYNDMAN moved as an amendment that Belgium, having to make arrangements for the forthcoming Congress, should also be made the corresponding centre.

Belgian Delegates deprecated any idea of rivalry with France, but expressed their willingness to undertake the charge if the Congress pleased. They had relations already with most of the countries concerned.

BLANVALLET said the reason why the Belgians were desirous that the International Congress should meet in Belgium was that the wretched working class in that country knew that they would always be unable to effect their own economic emancipation. If they attempted to do so the Government would at once invoke the assistance of Germany or France, and the insurgents would be crushed by irresistible force. It was therefore only by an alliance with the militant Socialism of other countries that the Belgians could hope for deliverance.

A vote was taken as to the choice of France or Belgium as chief centre for correspondence, the result being a tie, 4 to 4—England and, with characteristic courtesy, France voting for Belgium, while the minor nationalities voted for France.

ALLEMANE then spoke with some vehemence in favour of France, dwelling on the national differences of temperament of which the two rival Congresses were a sign, and arguing that as Germans had no liberty at home they could not learn to respect the liberties of others, and that in any international society in which the influence of Germany was paramount a dictatorial government was sure to be established. He doubted the power of the Belgians to resist the pressure that would be put upon them from Germany, and on that ground only advocated the selection of France.

The Belgian Delegate who had already expressed his willingness to come and fight for the revolution in Paris, Berlin, London, or anywhere else at the call of his allies, repudiated the charge of weakness and explained that there was sufficient discipline in the Belgian camp to ensure respect for the decisions of the party and the Congress.

The closure was then voted and a second division taken, five nations voting for Belgium and three for France, Portugal and Denmark having yielded to the arguments of English and Belgian speakers.

Mrs. BESANT, in a few words, thanked the French delegates for their hospitality, courtesy, and tact in conducting the business of the Congress, and expressed a hope that the Republic would escape the dangers by which it was threatened. Then followed loud applause, and the Congress separated amid cheers for the Social Republic and anti-Boulangist songs.

Throughout the Congress the English speeches were translated into French, and the French into English, by Mr. Adolphe Smith, while the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Danish speeches were rendered into French by the delegates acquainted with those languages. Apart from this unavoidable cause of delay, the business of the Congress was transacted with very little confusion or difficulty. The French custom of discussing a subject first and moving the resolution after seemed strange to the English delegates, but when, as in Paris, a great many lengthy resolutions of substantially the same character are proposed, time may be saved by their being revised by the committee, instead of their being all moved in Congress; and the fact that a resolution had been carried by the whole Congress did not preclude the adoption of a "rider" subsequently proposed.

The English delegates have to acknowledge the unvarying kindness and courtesy of their reception, and the efforts made by individual members of the National Committee for their comfort as well as the magnificence of the hospitalities offered to the Congress by the trade unions of Paris, through the *Bourse du Travail*, by the Paris Municipal Council, and by the French Republic itself, as well as by the *parti ouvrier*.

The date of the Congress had been fixed so as to include the National Fête, July 14, the anniversary, and, this year, the centenary of the fall of the Bastille. Parties of workmen from all parts of France, and of all shades of opinion, were being sent to Paris to see the Exhibition, and National and International Congresses of particular trades had fixed the same site for their meetings. To entertain as large a number as possible of these visitors, together with representatives of Parisian industry, the French Government had arranged for a monster ball, to be held at the Palace of Industry, in the Champs Elysées, on Saturday evening, the 13th. Over 40,000 invitations had been issued, and cards were reserved for all the delegates to the International Congress who were already in Paris. The great hall is about 630ft. long, 160ft. wide, and 120ft. high. It is encircled by a gallery from which a number of detached rooms open, each the size of an ordinary ball room. The whole building and the gardens outside were brilliantly lighted up and crowded with guests of all classes, in all costumes. Bands of different nationalities played in some of the rooms and in others dancing went on. The President of the Republic came into the great hall soon after ten, and before leaving made the tour of the building, through the crowd, with his wife and suite in full dress.* The Paris papers remarked upon the fact that all the arrangements for this Democratic Fête were exactly similar to those made the week before for the comparatively small ball given by the exhibitors, and the English delegates were struck by the apparent absence of class distinctions as well as by the brilliancy and the perfect decorum of the whole entertainment, which was kept up till long after daybreak.

On Monday evening the delegates were invited to a reception organised by the Paris Labour Exchange, in the Salle Wagram, where a *vin*

* This was thought a courageous thing to do, and therefore earned the President some popularity.

d'honneur, or "complimentary wine," had been provided, and a pleasant evening was passed with speeches, songs, and friendly conversation.

On Friday evening the delegates were invited to an official reception at the Hotel de Ville (a new building on the site of that destroyed during the Commune). 4,000 invitations were issued to this by the Paris Municipal Council, 2,000 being placed at the disposal of the organisers of the two Workmen's Congresses; 1,000 at the disposal of the Labour Exchange; while the rest were distributed among Paris and provincial workmen at the discretion of the Council. The exterior of the building was illuminated, and the President of the Council, in official dress, stood at the top of the principal staircase to receive the first visitors. The members of both Congresses met here, and the delegates from other continental countries were much impressed at the official welcome extended to such bodies of "revolutionary socialists;" while the French felt some pride in having their town hall lighted up in honour of the workers only. Ices, champagne, and other refreshments were provided *gratis;* a band played the "Marseillaise," Garibaldi's hymn, and other revolutionary strains, but notwithstanding all sources of excitement, there was no discord. During the evening those of the delegates who pleased had the opportunity of visiting the council chamber, library, and other portions of the building, under the guidance of the town councillors belonging to the workmen's party.

Finally, on Sunday evening, a farewell banquet, in the Avenue Daumesnil, re-united such of the delegates as remained in Paris, and terminated with a "Ponch," offered by the members of the Labour Exchange to the visitors. Besides these collective hospitalities, excursions had been arranged for the benefit of the foreign and provincial delegates, on one day to the engineering establishments of Decauville, on another to the chocolate factory of the Menier firm, and on the Monday after the Congress to Versailles, Sèvres, and the Gobelin Tapestry Works.

The Engineers' Society gave a banquet on Saturday night to the members of the trade visiting Paris, and the Congress was utilised by other trades desirous of holding separate meetings. Notice was given in both Congresses of the International Miners' Conference, held on Thursday and Friday afternoon, and the Secretary of the Labour Exchange promised to find a room there where it could be held; such, however, was the activity among the Trade Unions of Paris during the week that only one committee-room out of 22 was disengaged on Thursday afternoon, and that was too small for the miners present, so that the conference had to adjourn to a neighbouring building. The present building of the Labour Exchange, where 144 Trade Unions have their offices, is thus visibly too small for its work, and the new buildings, which are to be opened shortly, are urgently required to keep pace with the development of Parisian trade unionism.

One other incident, outside the regular work of the Congress, should be mentioned in order to give a complete idea of the week's proceedings. In the vast and picturesque cemetery of Père la Chaise, at the further corner, as yet unmarked by tombstones, the outer wall forms an angle. Those who stand in the hollow below the southern wall, stand upon the spot where the bodies of the shot Communards were buried by their executioners in 1871. It is well known that many of the survivors of the Commune are still active and respected members of the *parti ouvrier*, and the "Wall of the Federals," as it is called, is looked upon as a sacred spot, where men died for liberty, local self-government, and the rights of labour. The wall is hung with wreaths, and on special anniversaries or Sundays, it is visited by large numbers of the party, including friends and relatives of the slain. Some of the English and other Socialist delegates proposed to bring flowers to this spot, and on Thursday and Sunday afternoons some hundreds of French and foreign delegates visited the wall, where addresses in commemoration of the tragedy were delivered, and the growing liberties enjoyed by the working classes now in France, were maintained to be due in part to the defeated soldiers of the Commune.

When notice was given from the chair of these proposed demonstrations, W. H. Eveleigh protested against their being recognised officially by the Congress.

The English Trade Unionist delegates to the Congress have drawn up this imperfect report of the proceedings of the Paris Congress, partly for the information of their own constituents, but partly also in the belief that the English trades generally will be glad to have an opportunity of judging of the character of the late meeting, since the projected International Congress in Belgium, which English Trade Unionists are formally invited to attend, will be organised upon the same lines, and attended by the same class of persons.

The French workmen's party propose to issue a *verbatim* report of the Congress, which will be supplied to delegates and trade societies at cost price (4s. for a volume of 1,000 pages), and they beg to be informed at once of the number of copies which they may hope to dispose of in England. Mr. Eveleigh, The Leighs, Old Charlton, S.E., has kindly consented to receive orders and subscriptions. The present report may be obtained by trade societies at the rate of 7s. per 100; orders and subscriptions to be addressed to A. G. Cook, M.L.S.B., 3, Racquet Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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